28 also have been employed. Household utensils and vessels were fashioned
32 from wood and gourds. Bracelets and other ornaments were manufactured from
copper-wire or copper bars purchased from the Nyamwezi who smelted copper
[411] in Katanga. The traditional arms were spear, assegai, *pocue* (the short,
broad-bladed, two-edged Lunda sword) and battle-axe.(1) A defensive wea-
[726] pon was the square, lightwood shield said to be unpierceable after being
soaked in water.(2). Bows and arrows were apparently not used in war.(3)

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

CLAN ORGANIZATION(4)

614 The clan (*mukowa*) consists of persons, alive and dead, believed to be
descended matrilineally from a common ancestor or ancestress, even though
they may not be able to trace their ancestry. The clans, now dispersed,
have each a traditional home, *ntulo* (a word also used for the source of a
river), a common totemic name (usually the generic name of an animal or
plant), and a common slogan, *ilumbo* (from *ukulumba*, to boast). In prin-
[602] ciple clans are exogamous but in fact this is not observed; the exogamous
unit is the *cikota*, a subdivision of the clan. Each clan stands in a
joking relationship (*bwali*) to one, or sometimes more than one other, with
which its name is connected by an association of ideas. Examples of such
paired clans are: the leopard and the goat (because leopards kill goats),
the iron and the elephants (elephants were hunted with iron-headed spears),
the mushroom and the ant-hill (mushrooms thrive on ant-hills). No pre-
ferential marriage obtains between the *bali* (persons in joking relation-
ship) as is the case among the Bemba. In the mortuary ceremonies a special
role is assigned to a *mwali* of the deceased. An isolated instance of an
inter-clan avoidance pattern is provided by the Lion (*Bena Nkalamo*) and the
Snake clans. Members of a clan are supposed to give hospitality to their
fellow-clansmen whatever their tribal affiliation.

[773] Clan organisation is believed to be universal and coeval with mankind.
No mythical explanation of the origin of clans is offered. Religious or
[784] ritual cults are not practised on a clan basis. There is no prohibition
against killing or eating the object from which the clan derives its name,
nor, on the other hand, is any special veneration required.

[554] The clans are not hierarchically organised though, in fact, some may
enjoy greater prestige owing to their numerical strength or connections
and others may be regarded as of little consequence, like the derided Pins
and Needles clan. The clan to which the Kazembe's mother belongs is, for
the duration of his reign, placed in a privileged position.

As a rule the clans have no specialised economic or ritual functions although the intervention of the Fish clan (*Bena Mpende*) is invoked when the water is too low for the salmon to reach their normal spawning grounds. No clan meetings are held.

(1) Valdez, op.cit., p.239.
(2) ibid.
(3) Burton, p.43.
(4) Based on information provided by I.G. Cunnison who is at present engaged on an intensive study of the Luapula peoples.

791 778 The *ng'anga* (magicians) of whose activity little is known, dwelt in a banana grove just south of the capital which no outsiders could enter on pain of death.(1)

782 789 787 [726] Human sacrifices were made at the capital.(2) Victims were prisoners of war and, failing them, the Kazembe's own subjects. Human blood, hearts and entrails are mentioned among the ingredients of which medicines were made.(3) Horns containing medicine were supposed to give protection from witchcraft. Before any hazardous enterprise - war, hunting, travel - was undertaken, an oracle was consulted(4) and, if prospects looked auspicious, a medicine was prepared.(5)

264 643 787 The Kazembe was said to receive warnings of hostile machinations in dreams. If he dreamt of someone more than once this was a sign that the man was plotting against him and must be put to death.(6) Crawford was informed that the Kazembe was ritually insulted during his meals, and he describes this in some detail.(7) "The king eats in a mysterious mode called *kapoalo*... The 'old doctors' cursed him while he ate, his face veiled: 'Kazembe should die! He is no man! A beast! Kill the beast, oh! son of Temena (his mother's name)'.". The *mondo* was sounded to let people know that Kazembe was having his meal, and no one else was allowed to eat at the same time.

834 783 Ritual cleansing is prescribed after sexual intercourse. A man who kills a lion has to be washed in *nshipa* medicine by the headman before he can enter the village, and may not eat or speak till this has been done.

226 789 [784] [834] A wealth of ritual attached to fishing. Ritual authority was vested in the Shila "owners of the land".(8) The ceremony of *ukufungule sabi* (unlocking the fish) was performed annually towards the middle of the dry season on all the waters except the Luapula which "belongs to God". Bits of medicine were attached to the nets in order to ensure a good catch and prevent the nets from being torn. Charms were worn by fishermen or suspended at the bows to protect the canoe from being capsized by hippo or crocodiles. When the canoe was first launched the women sprinkled it with a little cassava flour to ensure plentiful catches. A women, particularly when carrying a child, was forbidden to step over a net. Sexual relations were tabooed when the fish were being poisoned. Lake Mweru was apparently never crossed south of Kilwa island, according to Livingstone.(9) At the "cursing" ceremony on Lake Mweru the dead men drowned in the lake were called by name and reprimanded.(10) Those who came safe ashore after their boats had foundered were greeted with a deliverance song and led in a thanksgiving procession.(11)

(1) Gamitto, I, p.358.
(2) Pereira puts the number of human victims at twenty a day (Livingstone, I, p.265). This is probably no more trustworthy than is his statement that Kazembe's army numbered 20,000 trained soldiers. R.J. Moore discusses human sacrifices as if at the time he wrote (1937) they were still common and an essential part of the salt-making ritual. The victim, according to him, is "nowadays usually a child".
(3) Burton, p.126.
(4) ibid., p.228.
(5) ibid., p.128.
(6) Livingstone, I, p.277.
(7) Crawford, 2, p.104.
(8) Livingstone, op.cit., p.252.
(9) op.cit., p.269.
(10) Crawford, op.cit., p.105.
(11) ibid., pp.105-6.